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# THE COURSE OF EMPIRE:

An Oration

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

## ORDER OF UNITED AMERICANS,

AT THE

Academy of Music, New York, February 22d, 1856,

ON THE CELEBRATION OF THE

## BIRTHDAY OF WASHINGTON.

BY

DANIEL ULLMANN, ESQ.,

OF ALPHA CHAPTER, No. 1.



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DANIEL ULLMANN, Esq.—

SIR: The undersigned, a committee appointed by the Convention of the O. U. A., solicit a copy of your oration, delivered before the Order, on the 22d of February, 1856, for publication.

We are, Sir,  
Very Respectfully,  
Your Obedient Servants,

W. R. RONALDS, }  
PETER J. BOGERT, } *Committee.*  
STEPHEN THORNE, }

New York, March 15, 1856.

GENTLEMEN—

I send you a copy of the oration, delivered by me on the 22d of February, according to your request, for publication.

I am, Gentlemen,  
Yours, Truly,  
DANIEL ULLMANN.

Published by order of the Convention.

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Dear Sir:—  
The undersigned is a member of the University of Illinois  
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We are,

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Your Obedient Servant,

W. B. Fowler,  
Dean of the University of Illinois.

Dear Sir:—  
I send you a copy of the report of the  
University, 1890, for publication.

I am, Sir,

Very Truly,

W. B. Fowler,

I am, Sir,

Very Truly,

W. B. Fowler,

Dean of the University of Illinois.

7

## ORATION

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*Mr. President,*

*Brothers of the Order of United Americans,*

*Ladies and Gentlemen :—*

THE ancient Romans were accustomed to guard with religious care the sacred books obtained by Tarquin from the Cumæan Sybil. When danger threatened the State, they consulted those mysterious and prophetic records, as containing the oracles of their fate, with the most imposing religious ceremonies. He, whose name has given eternal honor to this day—whose glory outshines that of Tarquin, or any of his proud successors,—hath left to us a richer legacy than the leaves of the Cumæan propheticess. Let us, on this, the anniversary of his birth, consult the sacred relic—not with the vain pomp and ceremony of a false religion, but with the enlightened reverence of a free people.

In these, the farewell words of the illustrious Father of our country, he dwells with peculiar earnestness on the evils to our government to be apprehended from the spirit of disunion. It well behooves the American people to ponder carefully, at this stage of their progress, the calm advice of their departed sage ; and therefore, it will comport, I trust, with the solemnity of this anniversary, and with the present aspect of public affairs, to recall some of the lessons of the past.

“The unity of government,” says Washington, “which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence ; the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety, of your prosperity ; of that liberty which you so highly



prize." \* \* \* "The name of *American*, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together: the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes."

These are words full of significance and instruction. They indicate the sources of the strength of this Republic. They were uttered by Washington under circumstances of peculiar solemnity. In toil and danger, he had, with consummate skill, led the armies of America through a long and severe struggle for independence, until his efforts had been crowned with triumphant success. And then, in conjunction with the immortal Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and other illustrious compatriots, he had laid the foundation, and framed the superstructure of a Constitution which should secure to the emancipated colonies the blessings of civil and religious liberty,—a service not less signal than that of achieving their independence. Called by the spontaneous voice of the people to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic, he had presided with unequalled wisdom, during the trying scenes of two terms of office; and now, about to retire to the shades of his favorite Mount Vernon, full of years, and experience, and wisdom and honors, he utters his parting advice to his beloved countrymen, with a heart overflowing with patriotism and tender solicitude for the welfare of that country for which he had endured so much. He points them emphatically to the chief source of their independence, their tranquility at home, their peace abroad; their safety, their prosperity and their liberty;—*the unity of Government, which constitutes them one people.*

The power of nations is relative as well as absolute. To form a great people in the present state of civilization requires a more comprehensive combination of elements than at any previous age of the world. Geographical position, extent of territory, climate;



agricultural, commercial, manufacturing and mining resources ; character of the race or races, religious faith, political principles, language, customs, habits, and form of Government, must all unite in one consistent whole to give them a high relative rank. No State with a limited territory, as in the days of ancient Greece, can now hope to attain to great political power. A wide extent of territory is absolutely necessary. Much also depends upon its position relatively to other powerful or weak communities ; its proximity to the great oceans of the earth, and its facility of natural and artificial means of internal communication. Great chains of inaccessible mountains, inhospitable deserts, vast inland seas or lakes afford barriers against invasion. These are the natural boundaries of nations, fixed by the hand of the Creator. Unfortunate Poland, without physical boundaries or mountain fastnesses, established on open plains, fell an easy prey to the rapacity of her grasping neighbors. The territory of a nation should pass through so many degrees of latitude that she may be able to produce within herself all the necessary staples of life. But pre-eminent among the elements of strength, are the characteristics of the race or races composing the people, their origin, their religious faith, their language, their customs, their habits. History teaches no truth more emphatically, than that those empires, which have become powerful, have drawn their energy from the life-vigor imparted by one single dominant race. A State composed of a heterogeneous mixture of discordant races, held together by no ties of a common origin, no common faith, no common language, no common customs and habits, necessarily contains within itself the elements of weakness and final ruin. Such a State is no nation, it is a mere aggregation of people, held together by the strong arm of power, which may at any time fly asunder. The Austrian empire is a simple congeries of nations, bound together by the will of the despot, enforced by the sword. Composed of sixteen great States, together with numerous smaller Principalities ; inhabited by four of the seven races of Europe, speaking twelve diverse languages and innume-

nable dialects, she has but one bond of union ;—a common sovereign. Were it not for her position in the heart of Europe, and the pressure of the great States around her, under the system of the balance of power established by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and renewed and confirmed by the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, and by subsequent treaties, she could not sustain herself for one day as a united and independent Empire.

The question of races is one of no easy solution. The precise point at which two or more races refuse to assimilate, has never been ascertained. It is certain, however, that where races dwell together on the same soil and do not assimilate, they never can form one great people—one great nationality. It is certain that unless there be a great central dominant race, with sufficient vital power to mold and absorb all the rest into one homogeneous national body, they never can become a Nation, having an organized individuality, self-reliant and self-existent. We are told that the fundamental characteristics of the races of men remain immutable. The laws which govern their essential characteristics are as unalterable as those which the Creator has stamped on the physical features of the universe. The basis of character—the natural impulse remains the same, while the superstructure may change in consequence of additions which may be made by the progress of society, the refinement of art and science. The great lines of demarkation which distinguish the characteristics of the races of barbarians, the Celtic, the Scythian, the Teutonic, and the Sclavonic, which came in contact with and finally overwhelmed the Roman Empire, are as clearly discernible at this day as at any period since they have been known to history.

But while the essential elements of character thus remain immutable, it is to be remembered that all else appertaining to States is exposed to all the multiplied vicissitudes which ever affect the affairs of mankind. Kingdoms appear, flourish, decay, and vanish from the scene, scarcely leaving a trace behind them. The great Empires of ancient Europe

and ancient Asia have disappeared, their history alone remaining for the instruction of man. The seat of power appears to be ever changing. The mighty nation of one century is the degraded people of another. Let no State then exalt itself so high, as to suppose that it can disregard with impunity the laws which God has established, as well for the moral government of nations as for the regulation of the conduct of individuals. Contests of races, civil dissension, misgovernment, fanaticism, irreligion, immorality, will sap the foundations and overthrow the superstructure of the proudest and strongest Empire that ever vaunted itself under the canopy of heaven.

Every age is the heir of the past. The accumulated treasures of philosophy, science and art of one century, descend to the generations of the next. The use made of them by each age depends on itself, but it is impossible for it to entirely separate itself from the materials thus furnished to it. It stamps its characteristics on these materials, and according to its virtue or vice, its intelligence or stolidity, frames from them its social, political and religious structure. Perhaps the most extraordinary revolution in the annals of mankind was the overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the almost entire extinguishing of the light of civilization by the barbarian hordes of the North; and yet to the Germanic conquerors of the fifth century the institutions of Western Europe and of America owe the tone and character of their civilization. But how slow was the development of Europe. Nations, races, languages, manners, ideas, were all jumbled together in one heterogeneous mass, requiring centuries of slow development to eliminate and mold them into homogeneous nations and governments. To the mixture of races was due this slowness more than to any other one cause. Greece required but two hundred and fifty years to reach her highest degree of development, and by her elevated rank in social improvement during two centuries and a half, has shed a never dying lustre on the human species. There was something glorious and brilliant in the rapidity and splendor of Saracenic or Arabic civilization, while the stolid in-



habitants of mediæval Europe laid floundering for eleven centuries, from the fifth to the sixteenth, in the chaotic mixture of the races and institutions of the Roman and Barbarian worlds.

It is true that the restoration of the Western Roman Empire by Charlemagne, gave some promise of a career of development, but, having no vital energy within itself, it quickly passed away. It is true that the Crusades, by inciting the people of Europe in the pursuit of one great end, and by bringing them into contact with the more refined and polished civilization of the East, drew society from its chaotic condition, and measurably transformed the loose and scattered elements of Europe into governments and nations. But it was only after the ever memorable inventions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the geographical discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards, that European society took a definite shape, and, advancing towards a clear and precise end, formed and consolidated the principal States of Modern Europe.

The first State which acquired predominant power was Spain. Charles V., having, with great pomp and ceremony, abdicated and surrendered to his son his vast dominions, Philip II. became the sovereign of the mightiest Empire since the fall of the Roman. He was not only king of Spain, but also of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Franche Compté, and ruler of the Netherlands. Tunis, Oran, the Cape de Verde and the Canary Islands, acknowledged his sway in Africa; and in Asia, the Phillippine and Sunda Islands, and part of the Moluccas; in the New World, the magnificent empires which Columbus discovered and Cortes and Pizarro conquered, Peru and Chili, New Spain and Mexico, California and Florida, Hispaniola and Cuba. And by the conquest of Portugal in 1580, he not only brought all of the Iberian peninsula under his crown, but also all the rich Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa and America. How mighty was the Empire of Philip II! Under a government which, instead of squandering its boundless resources, had combined its vast energies and developed the individual intelligence of its masses, it could have

taken the lead of the world, and been the pioneer of civilization through endless centuries. But such was not its destiny. Absolute power, ecclesiastical and civil, reigned uncontrolled in Spain. The popular institutions, which had sprung from her free cities, had been destroyed, and the monarchy was a combination of Theocratic and Imperial tyranny—a pure despotism, spiritual and civil. Philip II., imperious and bigoted, not content with governing his great Empire, undertook, in alliance with the Church, to control human thought and human liberty. Instead of confining himself to the political and civil relations of men, he strove, throughout his vast dominions, with the aid of the fires and racks of the Inquisition, to exercise sway over that which is the most free and the most hidden from human scrutiny, the minds, consciences, and wills of men. He placed himself at the head of the Counter-Reformation, and declared himself to be the champion of Papal Supremacy. He resolved to check and extirpate the spirit of free inquiry, which, bubbling up in Europe, was preparing the way for the free institutions of America. Vain attempt! Human thought and human liberty, however fettered, will burst their shackles—will escape restraint. They will force despotism itself. Pile mountains on them, they will make those mountains heave. Crush them beneath the weight of thrones, they will shake those thrones to their centre, and bury them under the ruins of empires.

The idea of the right of private judgment and of individual independence, which is the basis of liberty, and which was the direct result of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, was inconsistent with the supremacy of the Church, or the despotism of the State, and Philip, therefore, determined to strike a crushing blow at the nation which was the acknowledged centre of Protestant power and policy. He summoned his numberless legions from Italy, and the other portions of his dominions, and placed them under the command of the first military genius of the age, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma. Covering the sea with his ships, he prepared to hurl his huge armament, with

all its accumulated means of destruction, on the shores of England ; and, by annihilating her as an independent kingdom, he thought to roll back the tide of truth, justice and equality, which, being developed by the Reformation, was about to flow over the earth. But the winds scattered, and the waves sunk the Invincible Armada, which in the vain boasting of his heart he named it, down to the depths of the sea—carrying with it all the proud hopes of Philip, and the Supremacy of the Spanish Monarchy. Philip died, leaving an exhausted people and a ruined kingdom. His vast empire, having no real unity of race, language and territory, has been stripped of nearly all its numberless Dependencies, Vice-Royalties, and Captain-Generalships; until, now taking its position as one of the secondary kingdoms of Europe, it only holds a few islands in its uncertain and trembling grasp ;—a memorable example to mankind of the folly and madness of uniting political and spiritual power.

The geographical position of France, her compactness of territory, the unity of her language and race, the number, industry, and chivalric spirit of her people, and her intense nationality, all tended to place her at the head of European civilization in the seventeenth century. Strong and united in herself, she possessed all the attributes necessary to constitute a powerful people. A warlike, ambitious monarch like Louis XIV., with a government organized and centralized by the talents of his great Minister, Colbert, and armies disciplined and led by the genius of Turenne and Vauban, could not fail to acquire for his monarchy a preponderant influence among the States of Europe. His aim was to extend the permanent boundaries of his kingdom, and Rousillon, Artois, part of Flanders, Alsace, and Franche-Compté, yet remain, as integral portions of France, to attest the prowess of his arms, and the wisdom of his measures. While he attempted to consolidate an absolute monarchy, which should be the model of all States, he undoubtedly aimed at universal sovereignty. Having placed his grandson, Philip of Anjou, on the throne of Spain, and thus uniting with France what remained of the em-



pire of Philip II., and holding the Kings of England as his pensioners, there was some reason for fearing that the independence of the other States of Europe would be destroyed. The magnificence of his court, the splendor of his conquests, and the brilliancy of the literature of his age, have shed a glory on the history of France, never to be effaced. He extended the manufactures, commerce, and navy of France; he dazzled all nations with his pomp, and corrupting nearly every court of Europe, he attained to a pitch of grandeur and greatness never before reached in any nation of modern times. But Louis XIV. lived too long for his own fame. He was the representative of pure monarchy, in the contest between despotism and civil and religious liberty and the independence of States. Fortunately for the interests of mankind, the Grand Alliance was formed between England, Holland, Austria, Prussia and Portugal, and some of the smaller States of Europe; and equally fortunate was it that a captain of the exalted military genius of the Duke of Marlborough, was made the Generallissimo of their armies. The battles of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenard and Malplaquet, broke the power of Louis XIV., crushed the influence of France, and saved mankind from the sway of a universal despotism.

Two principles have striven for mastery among men. Their collision has led to most of the wars which have desolated the earth. The one is the principle of liberty—of individual opinion and action, the other the principle of despotism and tyranny. The one gives birth to popular institutions, the other to monarchical. The doctrine of the divine right of kings to reign, and of passive obedience in the people, which is the essence of despotism, undoubtedly received a serious blow when the English people and Parliament declared the throne vacant by the flight of James II., and called William to become king of England. Notwithstanding the fiction by which Parliament attempted to reconcile the Revolution to the principles of legitimacy, yet it was a virtual assertion of the right of the people to choose their rulers. The election of Napoleon the Great to be Emperor of

the French by the direct suffrages of the people, and the imitation of that example by Napoleon III., and the acquiescence in the act of the latter by the other sovereigns of Europe, are also departures from the monarchical principle that may yet produce wide spread results. The Revolution of 1688, and the victories of Marlborough, gave an impulse to England which, aided by her insular position, soon elevated her to the dominion of the sea. The inherent vigor of the Teutonic race, its genius for commercial enterprise, and its ambitious grasping after territorial aggrandizement, quickly created for the British Empire a belt of colonies, girdling the globe, and an accumulation of private and public wealth, never excelled in any age. Scarcely two centuries ago, England did not hold a foot of territory in the East. France, in 1748, was endeavoring, through the talents of Dupleix, to acquire for herself the peninsula of India proper, but she was thwarted by the genius of one of those extraordinary men who occasionally appear on the stage of life, Lord Clive. Originally a mere clerk in the service of the British East India Company, he early exhibited military capacity of a high order; and, being raised to command, he commenced, by a series of brilliant victories, that remarkable system of annexation by conquest, diplomacy and treachery, which has extended British dominion, in a century, over all those vast regions which lie between

“ that far-off Indian isle,  
Taprobane,”—

and the mountains of Thibet and Tartary; and the mouths of the great Bramahpootra, and the sources of that historic Hyphasis, on whose banks Alexander the Great paused in his career of Indian conquest, and wept because there were no more worlds to conquer. Twelve hundred thousand square miles of territory, and 130,000,000 of people, have thus been added to British dominion.

The magnificent extent of the British colonial empire unquestionably has been a prime source of her power and greatness. It may prove to be a cause of weakness. It offends against one of

the elements of power in a State at the present day, compactness and continuity of territory. Besides, the natural tendency of colonies is, as they increase in strength, to separate from the mother country. They have but few interests in common. Van Dieman's Land and New Holland can sympathise but little with Canada; Nova Scotia still less with Hindostan. Let a serious reverse befall England, and it is not easy to see how the chain which binds them together can be preserved unbroken.

History is full of startling contrasts. When the Carthagenians ruled three hundred cities, and covered the Mediterranean with their commerce, they looked with contempt on the horde of refugees who were founding a city on the banks of the Tiber; not imagining that there was the germ of a people who would not only sweep Carthage from the face of the earth, but rule the world. While Philip II. was striving to establish universal papal and imperial power, and Louis XIV. was cherishing his ambitious projects, amid the glittering splendors of Versailles, there were growing up, in obscurity and unnoticed, in the distant North-east of Europe, and on the far-off shores of the Atlantic, the first humble institutions of two people, whose rapid progress since has been the marvel of mankind. When in 1453 Mahomet II. was battering down the walls of Constantinople, and building up Ottoman power in Europe on the ruins of the Greek empire, Russia was a small, feeble State, having a population of six millions of people, and a territory of some two hundred thousand square miles; not five times as large as the area of the State of New York. The battle of Pultowa in 1709, which struck a fatal blow at the ascendancy of Sweden in the North, was the critical point in the history of Russia; and from that day her progress has scarcely a parallel among nations. Instead of two hundred thousand square miles of territory, and six millions of people, her Emperor now rules over nearly seven millions of square miles, more than one sixth of all the land of the earth, and seventy millions of obedient subjects. Unlike the dominions of Bri-



tain, his territory is one compact unbroken whole, from the Baltic Sea across Europe and Asia to the shores of the Pacific, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Caspian and Black Seas. She possesses, therefore, in her continuity of territory, one of the chief elements of strength. Her means of internal communication are equal, or may be made equal to that of any part of the globe. Her rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean, the Sea of Japan, and the Caspian and Black Seas, are navigable for a greater distance than any of the earth, excepting those of America. The rivers of the Caspian and Black Seas, and those of the Baltic and the Caspian, and also those of the White Sea and the Caspian, are united by canals, thus forming three uninterrupted lines of water communication across the entire breadth of European Russia. There is a complete net-work of rivers and canals, through which flows an internal commerce only equalled in value by that of America. Her system of railways is gigantic, and beyond question, her whole surface will, before the lapse of a quarter of a century, be entirely intertwined with a web of iron roads.

But, Russia possesses another element of national power, unsurpassed—a homogeneous people. Her population may now be estimated at 70,000,000 ; of these fifty-eight millions are of the Sarmatian race, fifty-six of the Slavonic branch of that race ; and fifty-one millions of these are Russians. These fifty-one millions occupy the centre, the heart of the country, while the millions that belong to other races occupy the frontiers. They all speak one language, are bound together by one faith, are sprung from one source, and have the same historical traditions ; are penetrated with the same national sentiment ; and, like one household, look up with intense devotion and affectionate reverence to their supreme head, the Czar and Autocrat.

The Slavonic race has as yet not played much part in the history of mankind. The Celtic and Germanic races have been the chief actors on the stage of Western Europe. A career is opening to the Slavonic people, which must greatly affect the

relations of States. Many think that their mental power is of a low grade, and that they are especially deficient in inventive faculties. I apprehend that, in the recent scenes before Sebastopol, they have taught the world some lessons not before realized by the Celtic or Anglo-Saxon race.

While the government of Russia is a pure military despotism, it is at the same time true that the Autocrat is emphatically the exponent of the nation's will, and eminently the representative of the national sentiment. It is a centralized government, with its complicated machinery reaching over all its immense territory, so that the pulsations of the national heart are felt in every extremity. No people excel the Russian in attachment to their soil, fixedness of religious faith, reverence for the historic monuments of their country, and affectionate devotion to their Emperor. It is computed that in the year 1900, with the present ratio of increase, Russia will contain 130,000,000 of human beings, and in 1950 she will number 260,000,000. Such a nation, with her geographical position, her vast means of internal communication, her immense agricultural, commercial, manufacturing and mining resources, impelled by an intense enthusiastic nationality, must inevitably assume a controlling power among the nations of the earth.

It is computed that the territory of no one of the nations of Western Europe can ever sustain more than 40,000,000 of inhabitants. If, then, Russia will continue to develop her resources, and civilize her people, the simple natural growth of her population, must, in the lapse of time, give her a preponderance in Europe. It must be remembered that the whole Russian people are deeply imbued with the opinion that their nation is to become the most powerful of the earth, and is to govern all Europe, and the world. This is the all-pervading national sentiment of more than fifty millions of people. It is not only the traditionary, definite, national mission, recognized by their princes, but it is the pride, the hope, the faith of each succeeding generation.

It is thought that, at the present day, when civilization is

spread so extensively over the surface of the earth, a universal empire is no longer possible. The idea of universal dominion is one that has often been entertained, both by princes and people. When Alexander the Great had reduced to subjection, by his conquering arms, all Greece, the mighty kingdom of Persia, all Egypt and India, to the shores of the Indus, well might he, as he stood amidst the splendors of ancient and magnificent Babylon, conceive the idea of universal empire. When the Roman people held sway over all the countries which lie between the Pillars of Hercules and the waters of that same Indus, they had reason to exult in having achieved the destiny of the Republic, prophesied in the books of the Cumæan sybil. Gregory VII., the great Hildebrand, with a mind capacious of such things, grasped the idea of organizing all Europe—yea, the whole world, into one great Theocracy, whose dominion should sit enthroned on the seven hills of Rome. Philip II., emerging from the middle ages, at the head of the mightiest combination of kingdoms, since the fall of the Roman Empire, revolved, in his gloomy mind, schemes of universal dominion. Napoleon the Great, self-reliant on his destiny, with monarchs crowding the halls of his palace, delighted to revel in the bright visions of universal empire.

But all these have passed away, and new combinations of nations and governments now occupy the world. Are there, then, no grounds for the national faith of Russia as to her destiny? Let fifty years roll on, and let the progress of Russia be such as has illustrated the last century; let that vast region lying between the Baltic Sea and the Pacific Ocean be filled with 130,000,000 of one race, united and bound together by one faith, one sentiment, one government; let the other nations of Europe be exhausted by wars, and divided by diplomacy; and let the States of the United States be divided, dissevered, broken up, into discordant, hostile, belligerent States or Confederacies, exhausting and destroying each other by civil dissension, and civil war, and who shall say that there are no grounds for the belief of the Russian people?



How powerfully do the considerations, which I have this day thus imperfectly presented to you, impress upon our minds the farewell warnings of the immortal Washington ! Our progress has not been less rapid than, or inferior to that of Russia. The America of the Revolution was a narrow section of this continent, chiefly of forest-land, lying along the shore of the Atlantic ocean, comprising some 900,000 square miles, inhabited by scarcely three millions of inhabitants, and dotted here and there with a few small towns. Now we have three millions of square miles, more than twenty-five millions of people, and our cities have increased in number, size, and splendor, until they rival the capitals of the elder world. The territory of the Republic is three times as large as the whole of Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, Prussia, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, and Holland combined, and equals in extent that of the Roman Empire, when Augustus Cæsar prescribed in his last testament, its boundaries. We have the first element of a powerful nation, a compact, continuous territory, bounded by the two great oceans of the globe. Our country passes through all the degrees of latitude necessary to enable it to produce all the staples of life. The shore lines of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and of the Gulf of Mexico, are full twelve thousand miles in extent, and an unequalled chain of great navigable lakes forms our northern boundary. Our rivers afford us forty-nine thousand miles of navigation, and our northern lakes thirty-five hundred. Five thousand miles of artificial navigation completes this net-work of internal communication—still further increased by twenty thousand miles of Railway finished ; to which soon will be added thirteen thousand more, now in progress—all tending ultimately to unite the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, by continuous lines of Railway. At the Revolution, we had no Manufactures ; now we have 500,000,000 of dollars so invested, producing, annually, in value, more than one thousand millions. Our commercial Marine registering nearly five millions of tons, is the greatest of the ocean. Our Agricultural and Mining resources are boundless. We are thus blessed with all the elements of physical

power, and physical wealth. To form a great people, more is necessary. There must be a common religious faith—a common religious sentiment pervading the whole mass of the people :—a religious faith which kindles enthusiasm in a people, and, uniting them together, unites them to God, will lift a nation to the loftiest efforts of which man is capable. Further, a Republic, situated, as are the United States, with its immense physical resources, must become one of vast strength, if it be chiefly peopled by one dominant, leading, race. I have said that those Empires which have become permanently powerful, have drawn their energy from the life-vigor imparted by one race. The social affinities of a people must be sufficiently active to form one pervading, national unity, or society will be loose, chaotic, and disjointed. It is undoubtedly true, that America owes much to the people of many lands, yet it is unquestionable that the American family is essentially of the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Teutonic race. To this source it owes its strong feeling of personal liberty, and individuality, its indomitable courage, its comprehensive spirit of enterprise, and its inflexible determination of character. A nation should extend a noble and generous hospitality to the people of other climes. They should be treated with kindness and liberality. How far the mixture of foreign and discordant elements of castes and nationalities should be permitted, is a question requiring the closest scrutiny of the philosopher and the statesman to determine. In some nations the foreign mixture has been so great as to modify all the modes of thought, habits and customs, to such a degree, that the original nation no longer existed. Their manners, laws and institutions remained, but the spirit fled. It is certain that the American people must mold and absorb all other castes, races, and nationalities on this soil, into one great homogeneous American race, or we never shall become a consistent organized individuality—self-reliant, self-existent. National character and national sentiment depend upon this. How shall I exalt national sentiment ! Save that homage which we owe to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, it is the highest and noblest sentiment among men.

The Slavonic race is said to have a great mission on earth—so has the American race. Each occupies the largest portion of a vast continent, which they are destined to fill with their teeming millions. The empires which I have described have passed and are passing away ; and in the great future which is opening before us, Russia and America, with all their hundreds of millions of people, will stand face to face, the representatives of opposing principles, whose collision has desolated the earth with war,—the principle of liberty—of individual opinion and action, and the principle of despotism. The law of a despotism such as Russia is centralization ; the law of a Federal Republic such as America is decentralization. The sublime power of a Republic springs from the united action of its individual members ; the strength of a despotism, from the disciplined compactness of its subservient multitudes. The might of such a consolidated despotism as Russia must, under some circumstances, be overwhelming ; but the enlightened and voluntary action of millions of individual minds, belonging to one race, professing one faith, speaking one language, and united under a Republic such as America, presents the most sublime exhibition of moral power which can exist among mankind. But America must heed the warnings of George Washington, and be united in the future as she has been in the past. Let us not pause in this majestic march towards empire. Let no discordant counsels, no clashing interests, no unfounded jealousies, no civil dissensions weaken or loosen the chains which bind us together. The high destiny for which Providence has reserved this people is the most glorious mission known among men. We seek not the empire of the sword—not the empire of the Inquisition—not the empire of despotism ; but the empire of the people—the empire of the rights of man—the empire of science, art and literature—the empire of morals and religion—the empire of obedience to God, his precepts and his commands. Let then the Union of these States stand firm and solid as the everlasting hills.

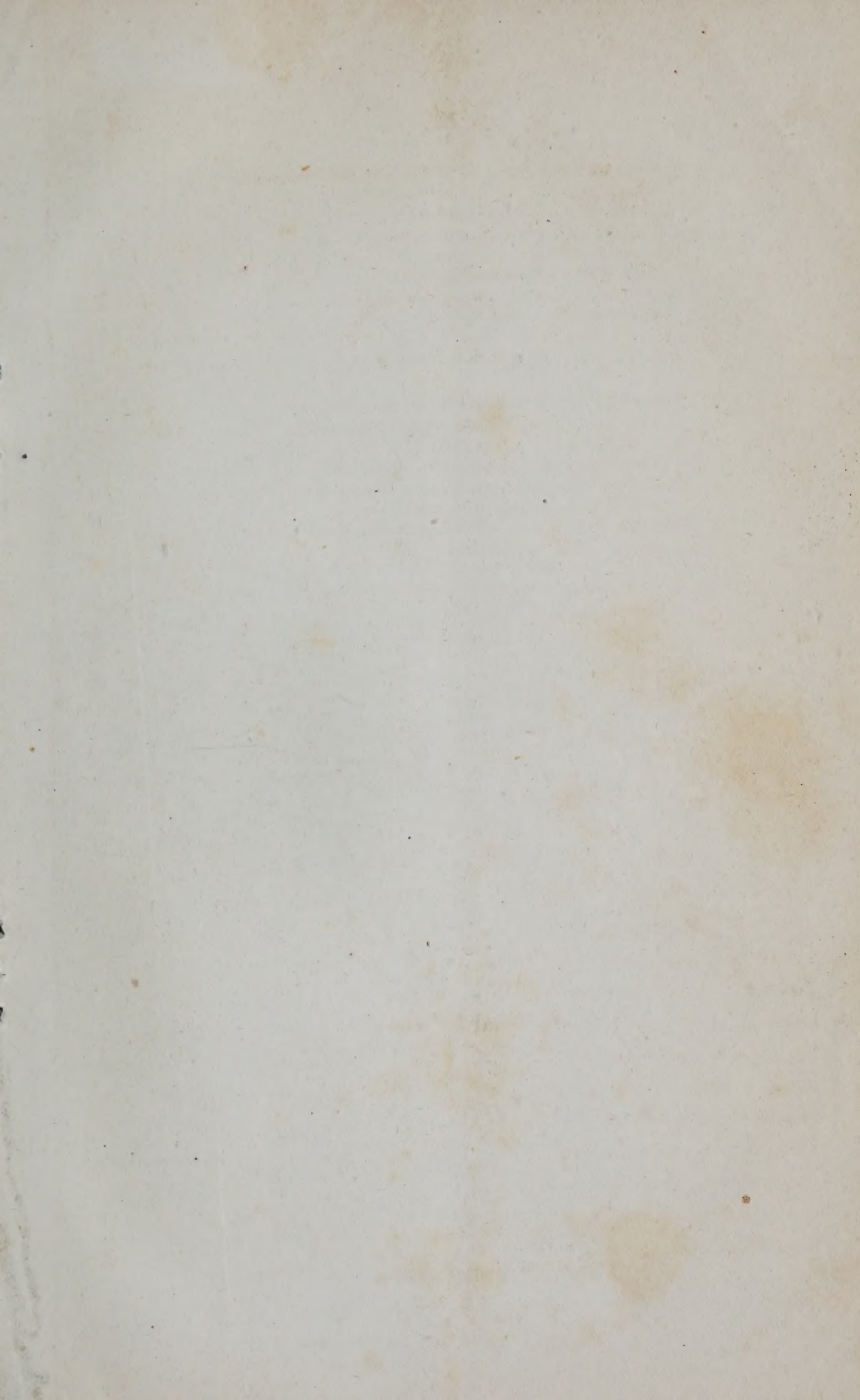


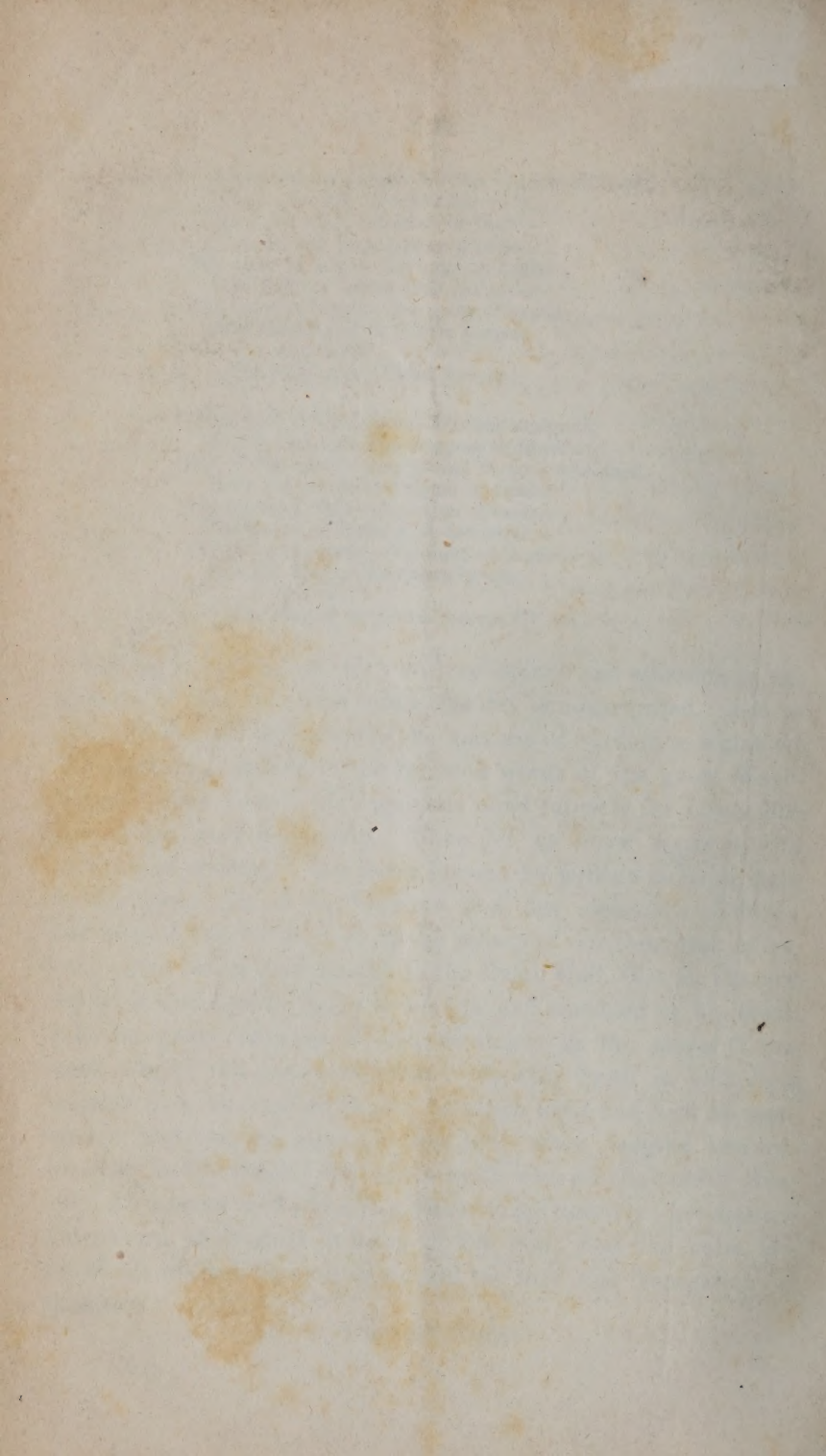
" ' A song for our banner ?"—The watchword recall,  
 Which gave the Republic her station :  
 ' United we stand—divided we fall !—  
 It made, and preserves us a nation !  
 The union of lakes—the union of lands—  
 The Union of States none can sever—  
 The union of hearts—the union of hands,  
 And the Flag of the Union forever  
 And ever !  
 The Flag of our Union forever !

What God in His Infinite Wisdom designed,  
 And armed with His weapons of thunder,  
 Not all the earth's despots and factions combined,  
 Have the power to conquer or sunder !  
 The union of lakes—the union of lands—  
 The Union of States none can sever—  
 The union of hearts—the union of hands—  
 And the Flag of the Union forever  
 And ever !  
 The Flag of our Union forever !"\*

Let us, in conclusion, turn with reverence and affection to the memory of Him to whose name this day is consecrated. Let us carefully cherish and observe the maxims of wisdom to which we have this day listened in the farewell words of the great Washington. How clearly his sagacious mind foresaw the future history of his beloved country. Then let us often recur to this fountain of wisdom. Let these lessons be written in living light for the instruction of our children and our children's children. Let us hold fast to them as to the pillars of our temporal salvation. And let us give thanks to the living God, that he has cast our lot in a land made happy by his life, and ennobled by his death. Like the great luminary of day, he stands in the moral firmament, single, and unapproachable :—looking down in boundless majesty from his exalted height, he sheds light and heat on mankind. And like the same glorious orb, when verging towards his rest, he illuminates the whole earth with all the hues of Heaven. All nations unite in doing honor to his memory ; generations yet unborn, shall glory in being of his race, and the calm lustre of his life will forever command the love and veneration of mankind.

\* George P. Morris.







Gaylord Bros.  
Makers  
Syracuse, N. Y.  
PAT. JAN. 21, 1908



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